It was said before that kinship and local groups are to be expected. This statement needs clarification. When speaking of local groups in the present study, we do not intend to refer to groups which consist of non-related subgroups. It is to be clearly understood that the residence pattern will be used as the decisive criterion for subdividing the groups. Thus, closely related groups may be excluded, more distantly related groups may be included. Occasionally such local units also include groups which are not related to each other. [168]

Also, among those groups which I have called kinship groups in this study, a biological or genealogical connection which can be proved and expressed in juridical terms is quite doubtful. We shall not concern ourselves, however, with this lack of precision; rather, we shall regard as related those persons or groups of persons whom the Ekonda themselves consider as related. In my opinion there is no justification for disregarding the attitude of the natives since it is their attitude which determines the character and function of the groups. Murdock (10)

10. Social Structure, p. 47.

uses this approach to the kinship group, while using the term "lineage" for persons who can prove their relationship. We have to point out that also the local groups have a tendency toward "paternalization" (11), to construe a closer relationship.

11. Boelaert, "Clan équivoque," p. 17.

The Kinship Structure of the Ekonda

Among the Ekonda we find a system of groups which are ordered according to degrees of real or assumed kinship. This system is subdivided into a hierarchical structure of many ranks. Larger groups consist of between one to four groups of the next order. The relationships between the groups correspond to the relationships between their founding ancestors. In this fashion certain groups are described as the older or younger brother of

another group. According to their relationship to others, groups may be designated as:

brother, younger or older;

brother or half brother (descended from various wives of the polygynous ancestor);

illegitimate child of the sister which, legally, as the child of the oldest brother or of the father of his mother, belongs to the group of the mother's relatives;

child of a boy who together with his sister has moved to the unit of his brothers-in-law and has settled there permanently;

son of a sister, who for some reason has separated from his paternal relatives and has moved in with the group of his mother or of one of his grandmothers.

Present-day social relationships are influenced by this variety of kinship relations. The kinship terms which refer to the relationships of the genuine or assumed ancestors to each other are occasionally transferred to the groups.

In this paper we shall describe the Isangi group (12) as an

12. Miller, Fürstentum [Kingdom], pp. 68 ff., 135, 138 ff.

example of hierarchical kinship structure. Isangi is a local group of the type described above (p. 1). Following the custom of the region, I shall refer to it as a "village." Until we have decided which terms are applicable to the various groups, I shall use the letters A to E for the individual ranks of the hierarchical structure. Within this system A shall stand for the smallest and E for the largest units (see Diagram 2).[1]

In addition to the three ranks of Group D in Isangi, there are others in the daughter villages (see Diagram 1). These may also include foreign groups, as, for example, the "Nkundó" group, Lilimbu, in Wangi.

[1] [See page 6, category 116.--Analyst]